34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 725 726 [593] [761] least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp. 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded. While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

• 728 701 After the successful completion of the killing expedition, and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 721 628 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*muisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *muisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to terminate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family, accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are, in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assassination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untä*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untä* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge